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768 After the husband's death the widow and her
886 children are shielded from want by her brothers and sisters. A widower normally returns to his mother's house. He is really the one more deserving of pity, especially after decades of wedlock, when he is too old to remarry. Accordingly, two old widowers with adult daughters did not take the trouble to move to their matrilineal home, but for the rest of their lifetime remained with their girls. On the other hand, young widowers who contemplate remarriage leave the house of the deceased a few days after the death even if there should be issue. However, father and children visit each other, the former occasionally bringing the youngsters a gift consisting of victuals and in turn being entertained by them.

585 When a man moves into his mother-in-law's home, his social position alters only
571 with reference to this new relationship to the inmates of the house and to his age class in so far as he ceases to sleep with the bachelors in the plaza. Otherwise his social activities hardly suffer any change; of the many social units with which he is affiliated only the family takes cognizance of the cleavage between married and single men.

591 Strictly speaking, a husband cannot be said to "move" from his maternal to
593 his mother-in-law's home; he rather becomes a member of two households simultaneously, and I have always had the impression that he feels the bond with his mother's house as far closer than with his wife's. This is quite natural since the former is indestructible, while the latter may be dissolved any day. For example, a married man continues to turn over part of his game to his mother's household or has his wife do so. Either alone or in the company of his wife he will often spend a part of the day with his mother, who prepares food for both spouses. Usually a man also keeps part of his personal belongings at his mother's—if for no other reason, in order to preserve them from encroachments by his brothers-in-law. Further, as indicated above, a man who falls seriously ill goes back to his [764] mother's, usually with his wife, to remain there till his recovery. If it is at all possible, a Timbira dies at his mother's house, where the corpse is invariably laid out.

604 At his mother's a man always is respected and decisively influences his sister's
[726] children, for whose support he is in part responsible in an emergency. His role in a niece's marriage has been noted; anciently, a nephew was his preordained companion in a raid against enemies and preceded him in an attack.

604 After the official council session and the subsequent chat in the plaza, that is,
512 about 7:30 P.M., the dignitaries and their male auditors by no means depart
593 straightaway to their wives, each rather regularly betaking himself to his matrilineal home, where he is an expected guest at that hour. As soon as he has seated himself there on a bed, his mother, sister, or niece serves him some food that has always been previously prepared for him. Not until he has eaten and uttered his opinion on family affairs does he leave for his wife's home.

MOURNING

765 Whenever a married Indian goes on a protracted journey—say, a begging jaunt
484 to one of the coastal state capitals—his wife goes into a mourner's seclusion until
593 his return. This retreat differs from that customary after a death only through the lack of lamentation and its possibly much greater duration. The woman ceases to cut her hair and to paint herself, puts on no decorative object, does not appear publicly, holds conversation only with her house mates, and rarely leaves her platform bed. Kentapí thus mourned over her absent husband from the beginning of August, 1930, until the beginning of April, 1931. Snr. Marcellino Miranda, the

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Timbira, remained hostile until their extinction, to which the Rąmkõ'kamekra contributed their share.[202] The southern frontier witnessed fights with the Neobrazilians, whose predecessors in that region are unknown. The Apą'nyekra to the west were not precisely hostile, but neither was there true friendship between these two Canella tribes, who in fact have not yet achieved that relationship.

Bravery.—Ribeiro, familiar with Timbira warfare through long years of personal experience, unreservedly bears witness to the great bravery of these Indians:

Fora-lhes algum tempo horrorosas as nossas armas de fogo, porem familiarizados com tudo o que nos diz respeito, até sabem que sem a bala ou chumbo, a mesma polvora não vale contra elles: e é isto tanto assim, que quando sentem haver semelhante falta, avançam destimidos para tiral-as das mãos aos soldados, o que tem muitas vezes acontecido. De braço a braço poucos homens apparecem que possam medir com elles a valentia; as mesmas indias não degeneram em robustesa, e já observamos uma que vindo prisioneira, quiz fugir levando debaixo do braço a sua sentinella, e o faria se não lhe tivessem acudido; era ella de bõa altura e tanto bem proporcionada que lhe chamavam nossos soldados a Lasan grande.

(Formerly our firearms inspired them with fear; but today, when they are familiar with everything concerning us, they even know that powder is impotent without bullets and shot, so that as soon as they note such deficiency they fearlessly advance, in order to snatch them [the weapons] out of the soldiers' hands, as has frequently happened. Man to man, there seem to be few men able to vie with them in point of bravery. Even the women are not inferior in robustness and we have seen one such brought in as a captive who tried to escape by dragging along her guard under her arm and would have succeeded if he had not received aid. She was of goodly stature and so well built that our soldiers dubbed her "the big sorrel mare.")[203]

And again:

Ha entre elles homens muito valorosos! Nos observamos em 1801 a coragem com que um gentio Capiekrans defendeu a sua liberdade contra doze soldados, que o surprehenderam quasi sem armas, e primeiro tiveram estes a crueldade de fazel-o em pedaços do que a gloria de prendel-o. Em 1807 observamos tambem a animozidade de um dos Timbiras das matas, que sahindo de certa emboscada ao meio de mais de cem homens nossos, que se distrahiam em differentes trabalhos, na occasião em que se estabeleceu o arrayal do Principe Regente, matou um delles, espancou outros, e retirou-se airosamente antes de poder ser ofendido.

(There are very brave men among them! In 1801 we observed the courage with which a Capiekrans [= Rąmkõ'kamekra] Indian defended his liberty against twelve soldiers who had surprised him almost unarmed and had rather the satisfaction of cruelly cutting him to pieces than the glory of capturing him. In 1807 we also observed the audacity of a Forest Timbira [= Cą'kamekra], who dashed from some ambush into the midst of over a hundred of our people employed with sundry tasks at the founding of the Arroyal do Principe Regente; he killed one man, attacked several others and dexterously withdrew before he could be made to suffer any injury.)[204]

At present the Timbira, weakened by defeat and disease, know that the overwhelming majority of their civilized neighbors are merely waiting for a pretext to pose as defenseless victims of Indian savagery, demanding corresponding coercive measures by officials and the government, or even to resort to such on their own initiative. Hence an Indian hesitates for a long time before reacting to Neobrazilian insults and threats, thus acquiring a character for "cowardice." But even nowadays the camel's back will break: not many years ago, in the presence of half a dozen people in front of a fazenda, the Rąmkõ'kamekra Wakái shot down a Neobrazilian with an arrow, when the man continued for a long time to vituperate the at first unresisting Indian and threaten him with death.

Tactics.—Against Neobrazilians the Timbira presumably applied surprise attacks from ambush, but against their own kind they were by no means afraid of open

[202] Nimuendajú, The Gamella, 8.
[203] Memoria, § 19.
[204] *Ibid.*, § 22.

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725 Äußerste an, ihn fortzubringen, weil es für eine besondere Schmach gehalten wird, lebend oder tot in die Hände der Feinde zu gerathen.[326]

After every shot the Rąmkŏ'kamekra are accustomed to give their buttocks a resounding smack with the palms of their hands and to utter piercing, quavering cries while slapping their lips in rapid succession. The "glowing embers" at the tip of the incendiary arrow generally consist of a kerneled maize cob; in its flight the resistance of the air produces a blaze.

726 In fighting Neobrazilians the Timbira attacked either single individuals or an
177 estate, immediately withdrawing after the first clash. Nevertheless, panic preceded them, as witnessed by Ribeiro:[327]

...pois temos observado em repetidas occasiões que á primeira voz que se ouve no sertão como dizendo:—'Ahi vem gentios, são meritos, ja invadiram tal fazenda, mataram tantas pessoas, não ha quem possa resistir-lhe'—não se averigua mais nada, transmitten os habitantes seu terror uns aos outros, largam os fazendeiros suas fazendas sem saber a quem, e por toda parte fogem como carneiros sem saber de que.

(...for we have repeatedly observed that with the first cry uttered in the sertão that "Indians are coming, there are so many, they have already attacked such and such a fazenda and killed so many persons, no one can resist them," people do not investigate further, but one settler imparts his alarm to the next, the fazendeiros surrendering their fazendas without knowing to whom and fleeing like sheep without knowing from what.)

725 Against the bandeiras the Indians sought refuge in the steep mesas scattered
177 throughout Timbira territory. That it was sometimes inadvisable to pursue them is proved by the destruction of Manoel José de Assumpção's bandeira at the Serra da Desordem by the Pụkóbye in 1814. The Timbira also applied to warfare their hunting technique of the surround with firing of the grass, as demonstrated by the case of Manoel Lopes' bandeira, which was almost destroyed by a fire in a dry bamboo thicket.[328]

727 The Rąmkŏ'kamekra took no prisoners, but indiscriminately knocked down opponents with their clubs. They neither mutilated corpses nor took home any part of the body as a trophy. According to Ribeiro, however, the Pụkóbye in 1814 captured a girl alive at the destruction of Porto da Chapada (=Grajahú);[329] and in 1808 the Čą'kamekra are reported to have taken along the ears of a boy killed near Principe Regente.

266 The Čą'kamekra have been accused of anthropophagy but probably only to facilitate application to them of the special laws against cannibals decreed by the Portuguese government. Ribeiro explains the origin of the report:

The Čą'kamekra had forced a bandeira of two hundred men to retreat and had killed the leader, Eugenio Antonio, whom his followers buried on the spot. Another bandeira of two hundred men headed by Manuel Lopes attempted to avenge the defeat in the following year, but with no more success. When they got to Antonio's grave, the bones were found to have been disinterred, scattered, and charred "as though the attached flesh had been roasted and even with traces of gnawing."

But Ribeiro himself states that this does not prove Čą'kamekra cannibalism.[330]

701 *Organization.*—The raids of the Rąmkŏ'kamekra were executed either by all warriors on the councilors' decision or by single individuals on their own responsibility. Youths figured as "warriors" (pep) from the close of their initiation to the close of the next younger age-class's initiation, that is, for about ten years. The age-class leaders directly headed the warriors, but the real command was vested in

[326] Pohl, Reise, 2:206.
[327] Memoria, § 74.
[328] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 79.
[329] *Ibid.*, § 38.
[330] *Ibid.*, § 37.